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# HORACE BUSHNELL

## THE CITIZEN

By EDWIN D. MEAD

BOSTON, 1900

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# HORACE BUSHNELL, THE CITIZEN.

*By Edwin D. Mead.*

WHEN the Twentieth Century Club of Boston was organized, half a dozen years ago, the first general meeting of the club was a memorial to Phillips Brooks, who had been interested in the idea of such a club in Boston and had purposed to become a member. At this memorial meeting there were addresses by Edward Everett Hale and Dr. Donald, Brooks's successor as rector of Trinity Church. In the course of his address, which was a fine analysis of Brooks's genius and influence, Dr. Donald observed that that influence did not lie in the contribution of anything distinctly original to American religious thought; Phillips Brooks's theology, he said, was "simply the theology of Bushnell."

This is substantially the truth; and it could be said of great numbers of the most thoughtful and influential men in the American pulpit to-day. In the religious turmoil and confusion of a generation ago, Bushnell was a great light and a positive guide, mediating to many minds a rational theology and a noble and satisfying method. Washington Gladden undoubtedly spoke for hundreds when he recently wrote: "I could not have remained in the ministry, an honest man, if it had not been for him. The time came, long before I saw him, when the legal or forensic theories of the Atonement were not true for me; if I had not found his 'God in Christ' and 'Christ in Theology,' I must have stopped preaching. Dr. Bushnell gave me a moral theology, and helped me to believe in the justice of God. If I have had any gospel to preach during the last thirty-five years, it is because he led me into the light and joy of it."

Horace Bushnell was certainly the

most original and influential theologian in New England in this last half of the nineteenth century, save Theodore Parker alone. It is interesting to know that the two great thinkers knew each other personally. In 1843—in which year also it is pleasant to read that Bushnell walked arm in arm with George Ripley of Brook Farm to hear Webster's Bunker Hill oration—he spent an evening with Theodore Parker, when they "went over the whole ground of theology together"; and Dr. Munger, who mentions the fact in his new biography of Bushnell, observes that it is safe to say that neither appealed to the "standards." Greatly as the two men differed in intellectual nature, manner, emphasis and conclusions, their community was far more impressive and important; they were fellow-workers in liberating New England religion from the tyranny of tradition and authority, and in helping it to the method of reason and nature. Bushnell, as Dr. Munger truly says, "questioned the prevailing orthodoxy at all points,—inspiration, regeneration, trinity, atonement, miracles." The character of his appeal to a higher court than that of any current definitions is well illustrated by the following passage from one of his controversial treatises: "I do peremptorily refuse to justify myself, as regards this matter of trinity, before any New England standard. We have no standard better than the residuary tritheistic compost, such as may be left us after we have cast away that which alone made the old historic doctrine of trinity possible. I know not whether you design to make a standard for me of this decadent and dilapidated orthodoxy of ours; but if

you do, then I appeal to Cæsar; I even undertake to arraign your standard itself before the tribunal of history."

"Christian Culture," "The Vicarious Sacrifice," "God in Christ," "Christ and his Salvation,"—each of these works bore in it a revolution for American religious thought and life. Epoch-making above all was the work on "Nature and the Supernatural." Some chapters of this great work differ from others in value, and much of it has been left behind, so far as concerns much more than detail, by the advancing thought of the last generation; but it is and will remain a monument to Bushnell's comprehensive and philosophic mind; and appearing as it did in the early days of the controversies over Darwinism, evolution and German criticism, it performed a unique service in what has become the most important realm of theology. Bushnell, as Dr. Munger well defines it, "did not deny a certain antithesis between nature and the supernatural; but he so defined the latter that the two could be embraced in the one category of nature when viewed as the ascertained order of God in creation. The supernatural is simply the realm of freedom, and it is as natural as the physical realm of necessity. Thus he not only got rid of the traditional antinomy between them, but led the way into that conception of the relation of God to his world which more and more is taking possession of modern thought." The power of Bushnell was not so much in the new doctrines which he taught, although he was a prolific, radical and sweeping teacher of new doctrines, as in the new and inspiring spirit, the spirit of nature and of freedom, which he brought to every question. "He was," as Dr. Munger says, "the first theologian in New England to admit fully into his thought the modern sense of nature, as it is found in the literature of the century, and notably in Wordsworth and Coleridge. The secret of this movement was a

spiritual interpretation of nature. It was a step in the evolution of human thought; and appearing first in literature, its natural point of entrance, it was sure to reach all forms of thought, as in time it will reach all forms of social life."

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We have spoken of Bushnell as one of the two most original and influential New England theologians in recent time. A certain critic has said that "the designation of a theologian cannot, in any technical sense at all events, be applied to him." Dr. Munger, noticing the word, says, "Whatever truth there may be in this remark lies in the fact that he was preëminently a preacher, and a preacher is seldom a technical theologian." It would certainly be interesting to know what a theologian is, if the great works of Bushnell which we have enumerated are not the works of a theologian. It is also interesting to remember that few "technical theologians" have had a tithe of the influence upon religious and distinctly theological thought in our time that has been exerted by such minds as Emerson and Browning and Tennyson. It is true, however, as Dr. Munger says, that Bushnell was preëminently a preacher, if not the "ablest preacher of his day," certainly one of the very ablest, and that in him "the preacher absorbed the theologian and supplanted his methods." Professor George Adam Smith has said that Bushnell is the preacher's preacher, as Spenser is the poet's poet. His early sermon on "Every Man's Life a Plan of God" has been spoken of by one enthusiast as "one of the three greatest sermons ever preached," the other two named by this classifier being Canon Mozley's on "The Universal of Human Judgments" and Phillips Brooks's "Gold and the Calf." Dr. Munger's judgment is: "No sermons have a better claim to be ranked in 'the literature of power,' and it may be expected that they will



live on in the world of literature along with those of Bishop Butler, Mozley and Newman, with hardly less weight of matter, and with even deeper insight into the ways of the spirit, both of God and man. They are universal; and yet they especially reflect the New England mind as a combination of ideality, conscience and practicality."

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We wish to consider Bushnell here as a representative of the New England mind, as one of its greatest and truest representatives in this half century, and that upon the side not theological or distinctly religious. We are all rejoicing in the new *Life of Bushnell* which has just been given us by Dr. Munger. There is no other man so well qualified as he to write such a book, not only by reason of his unusual knowledge of Bushnell's work and the religious conditions under which his life was lived, but much more by reason of peculiar intellectual and spiritual affinity. The work is a welcome and necessary complement to the "*Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*" prepared by his daughters not many years after his death. Of that admirable biography Dr. Munger truly says: "Nothing more in the way of personal history could be desired; but it made no attempt to deal with his theological treatises in a critical and thorough way." His own book "owes its existence to the fact that no full and connected account of Dr. Bushnell's work as a theologian has yet been made." His book is properly entitled "*Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian*." The earlier biography might properly have been entitled "*Horace Bushnell, the Man*." A third book yet remains to be written, to accomplish the adequate presentation of Dr. Bushnell's broad interests and far-reaching influence; and that book should be entitled "*Horace Bushnell, the Citizen*." It is true that Bushnell the man and Bushnell

the preacher could not be treated without attention to Bushnell the citizen. The vital and varied activity of Dr. Bushnell in social and civic things constantly appears in the early biography by his daughters, and is emphasized by Dr. Parker in his supplementary chapter to that work. Dr. Munger also does not fail to glance at it again and again; but the brief chapter, "*Essays and Addresses*," devoted expressly to what may be called Bushnell's secular work, is quite inadequate, if the volume were to be viewed as a general biography and not primarily and essentially as an account of Dr. Bushnell's work as a theologian.

A man could not indeed be so great a theologian as Dr. Bushnell was without being much more than a theologian. One who was himself an eminent theologian has well said that "a theologian must needs have heard the voice of his own generation," and that "theology stagnates when it is cut off from present life." Dr. Bushnell himself, speaking of the true training and scholarship for the preacher, says that such scholarship "needs to be universal; to be out in God's universe; that is, to see and study and know everything, books and men and the whole work of God, from the stars downward; to have a sharp observation of war and peace and trade; of animals and trees and atoms; of the weather and the evanescent smells of the creations; to have bored into society in all its grades and meanings, its manners, passions, prejudices and times; so that, as the study goes on, the soul will be getting full of laws, images, analogies and facts, and drawing out all subtlest threads of import to be its interpreters when the preaching work requires. Of what use is it to know the German, when we do not know the human,—or Hebrew points, when we do not know at all the points of our wonderfully punctuated humanity?" But one might say all this with fair fidelity of many a preacher, and yet not de-

scribe Dr. Bushnell in his varied capacities and creativeness. Dr. Bartol, who was Bushnell's dear friend for so many years, and whose correspondence with Bushnell fills some of the most interesting pages of Dr. Munger's book, wrote to Mrs. Bushnell after his death: "He had it in him to be an artist, architect, road-builder and city-builder, as well as scholar; and well is your Hartford park called by his name." Bishop Clark, who was the rector of a church in Hartford for several years during Bushnell's pastorate, wrote of the things of which one might have heard him chatting in the bookstore, with all sorts of people,—“the news of the day, the doings of public men, the affairs of the city, in which he took especial interest, politics, farming, mechanics, inventions, books.” “Those who know him only by his theological writings,” said Bishop Clark, “have no conception of the range of his mind and the variety of subjects that he had investigated. He was skilled in mechanics, and has given the world some inventions of his own. The house in which I once lived was warmed by a furnace which he devised, when such domestic improvements were comparatively new. He could plan a house or lay out a park or drain a city better than many of our experts. He was as much at home in talking with the rough guides of the Adirondacks as he was in discussing metaphysics with theologians in council. If he had been a medical man, he would have struck at the roots of disease and discovered remedies as yet unknown. If he had gone into civil life, he would have taught our public men some lessons in political economy which they greatly need to know.” Dr. Munger, speaking especially of Bushnell's political essays, says, “Many of these essays reveal Bushnell as a publicist of the first order. No man of his day handled those questions of state that involved the moral sense of the people with such breadth of view and such fidelity,

both to the nation and to conscience, as are displayed in many a sermon and address from 1837 to the very end of his life.”

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With a political outlook as broad always as the nation and the world, Dr. Bushnell's was emphatically a New England nature and a New England mind. He found himself in the right place when he welled up to consciousness in the New England country, when he went for his book learning to Yale College, and when as the place for his life-work he took a Hartford pulpit.

His youth was the best kind of a New England youth, which is the best youth in the world, a genuine “age of homespun.” He was born in precisely that part of Connecticut in which one would choose to be born if he is to be born in Connecticut, the neighborhood of Litchfield, with its beautiful landscapes and its strong traditions. In one place and another in this historic region he lived until he was twenty-one years of age, working on the farm and supplementing this work by wool-carding and cloth-dressing, after the manner of the time. “There was always something for the smallest to do,—errands to run, berries to pick, weeds to pull, earnings all for the common property, in which he thus begins to be a stockholder.” “There is nothing in those early days,” he tells us himself, “that I remember with more zest than that I did the full work of a man for at least five years before the manly age,—this, too, under no eight-hour law of protective delicacy, but holding fast the astronomic ordinance in a service of from thirteen to fourteen hours.” It was a life well calculated to make a young man self-reliant, practical and “shifty”; and the hills and valleys, lakes and brooks, forests and fields, amid which his life was lived, were the best school for the lover of nature that he was. “The homestead was on the slope of a broad-backed hill that



stretched away for a mile to the summit, on which stood the only church in the town. The house was one of those which marked the best period of rural architecture in New England,—roomy, cheerful and with an indefinable air of dignity, simplicity and comfort,—character, in brief, in the terms of architecture.”

Through all was the atmosphere of a strong and beautiful religion, a religion far more catholic and genial than that common in many Connecticut households at the beginning of the century. The father had imbibed Arminian views, the mother had been reared in the Episcopal Church; and when both became members of the Congregational Church, it was with this background and with the strict Calvinism of the time and place tempered in them by these influences. There was music and love in that Litchfield county home, there was hard work and honest play, there was truth,—“I do not remember ever hearing any one of the children accused of untruth,”—there was a noble mother with ambitions for a liberal education and life more abundant for the children. It was a household which, as the world counts, belonged to a higher class than that of Burns’s cotter; yet as we read of its life and spirit, it is the words of Burns that well up to speak for the feeling of our hearts. From scenes like this, we feel, New England’s grandeur springs!

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If there be a prose counterpart to “The Cotter’s Saturday Night” and “Snow Bound,” it is “The Age of Homespun.” This great address, given as a sermon at the centennial celebration of Litchfield county in 1851, and now one of our New England classics, Dr. Munger believes will “probably be longer remembered and oftener quoted than any other writing of Bushnell, because it is so true a picture of rural New England

life in the early part of the century.\* It is an outburst of grateful recollection of his early life,—pathetic, humorous, photographic in its accuracy, keen in its analysis, reverent and noble in its tone, revealing not more the period it describes than the man himself.” There is not in our New England literature any other work which shows with such true sympathy and understanding, such sturdiness and tenderness and insight, the character of the people of the old New England country and the spirit which has created what is best and most enduring in New England and in the nation. It treats of the day before the factory day, the day when the cloth upon men’s backs was made not by water and steam power, but by “mother and daughter power.” In this fine passage upon the village graveyard, he gives the eloquent and didactic census of the real forces which made New England:

“Here lie the sturdy kings of Homespun, who climbed among these hills, with their axes, to cut away room for their cabins and for family prayers, and so for the good future to come. Here lie their sons, who foddered their cattle on the snows and built stone fence, while the corn was sprouting in the hills, getting ready in that way to send a boy or two to college. Here lie the good housewives, that made coats every year, like Hannah, for their children’s bodies, and lined their memory with catechism; here the millers that took honest toll of the rye; the smiths and coopers that superintended two hands and got a little revenue of honest bread and schooling from their joint stock of two-handed investment; here the district committees and school-mistresses, society founders and church deacons, and withal a great many sensible, wise-headed men who read the weekly newspaper, loved George Washington and their country, and had never a thought of going to the General Assembly. Who they are, by name, we cannot tell—no matter who they are—we should be none the wiser if we could name them, they themselves none the more honorable.”

We do not know of any other tribute equal to that here to the home life in the New England country a

\* “The Age of Homespun” was reprinted in the NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE for January, 1898.

century ago,—a life which continued to a far later time, and which in its main and noblest features is, thank God, not yet extinct upon our hills and in a hundred little towns. We do not know of any more memorable tribute to the district school,—“those little primitive universities of homespun, where your mind was born.” We do not know of any other tribute so impressive to the stern old New England religion, nor any other picture so touching or so just of the Sabbath assemblage and the men of the New England churches.

“True, there was a rigor in their piety, a want of gentle feeling; their Christian graces were cast-iron shapes, answering with a hard metallic ring. But they stood the rough wear of life none the less durably for the excessive hardness of their temperament, kept their families and communities none the less truly, though it may be less benignly, under the sense of God and religion. If we find something to modify or soften in their over-rigid notions of Christian living, it is yet something to know that what we are they have made us, and that when we have done better for the ages that come after us, we shall have a more certain right to blame their austerities.”

Most noteworthy and most noble is his fine defence of these strong men and women of the New England country, forced as they were to their close economies, from the charge of meanness, which has so often and so carelessly been made against them. It is a defence throbbing with tender reverence for those whom his own life had touched so intimately.

“When the hard, wiry-looking patriarch of homespun, for example, sets off for Hartford, or Bridgeport, to exchange the little surplus of his year’s production, carrying his provision with him and the fodder of his team, and taking his boy along to show him the great world, you may laugh at the simplicity, or pity, if you will, the sordid look of the picture; but, five or ten years hence, this boy will probably enough be found in college, digging out the cent’s worths of his father’s money in hard study; and some twenty years later he will be returning in his honors, as the celebrated judge, or governor, or senator and public orator, from some one of the

great states of the republic, to bless the sight once more of that venerated pair who shaped his beginnings and planted the small seed of his future success. Small seeds, you may have thought, of meanness; but now they have grown up and blossomed into a large-minded life, a generous public devotion, and a free benevolence to mankind.”

We have quoted thus largely from this noble address, because it reveals like nothing else the background and the shaping forces of this great New England life, and because it strikes again and again the real key-note of his gospel of citizenship. That gospel was a gospel of virtue, of morality, of self-reliance and of work, of simplicity, high-mindedness, fraternity and public spirit, of a politics commanded and surcharged with religion, a new Puritanism. There was no one of his political addresses in which the closing words of “The Age of Homespun” would not somewhere have found proper place.

“Your condition will hereafter be softened, and your comforts multiplied. Let your culture be as much advanced. But let no delicate spirit that despises work grow up in your sons and daughters. Make these rocky hills smooth their faces and smile under your industry. Let no absurd ambition tempt you to imitate the manners of the great world of fashion, and rob you thus of the respect and dignity that pertain to manners properly your own. Maintain, above all, your religious exactness. Think what is true, and then respect yourselves in living exactly what you think. Fear God and keep his commandments, as your godly fathers and mothers did before you, and found to be the beginning of wisdom.”

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As Bushnell was a warm lover of his own Litchfield county, so was he a supremely loyal son of his own state; and as “The Age of Homespun” is the most noteworthy literary tribute to the life and people of his boyhood home, so is his “Historical Estimate” of Connecticut, an address delivered before the legislature of the state, it may be observed, the same summer that the sermon was given at Litchfield, the most significant review



which has ever been written of the noteworthy and noble things for which Connecticut has stood. In all the circles of his patriotism, Bushnell's heart beat strongly. He loved his native place, he loved his city of Hartford, he loved Connecticut, he loved America, and he loved the world; and his patriotism in each narrower circle was food and inspiration for that in the wider and the wider still. "The man who does not love and honor the state in which he and his children are born has no heart in his bosom," he says at the beginning of his "Historical Estimate;" and this eloquent survey of the history of Connecticut is indeed the tribute of a lover. It is the tribute of the most just and intelligent lover. Nothing perhaps reveals more truly Bushnell's splendid scholarship; and after we have followed him in his careful survey of the services of Hooker, Davenport, the younger Winthrop and the other founders of Connecticut, and the men of the period of the Revolution and the Constitutional Convention, we are not disposed in any way to temper his enthusiastic tributes. His study of the strong local independence of the little Connecticut towns has a peculiar value. We discussed in these pages some months ago the splendid opportunities which our American history offers to the American painter; and we spoke of several noteworthy hints and outlines of particular subjects given by various imaginative writers. Bushnell gives such a hint in his "Historical Estimate," and it is such a striking picture which he suggests that we must quote the passage. It is where he pictures the return of Mason with his little Puritan legion to Hartford, after the Pequot war, when the colony made him its general-in-chief, and Hooker, in presence of the people, delivered him his commission.

"Here is a scene for the painter of some future day—I see it even now before me. In the distance and behind the huts of Hartford waves the signal flag by which

the town watch is to give notice of enemies. In the foreground stands the tall, swart form of the soldier in his armor; and before him, in sacred, apostolic majesty, the manly Hooker. Haynes and Hopkins, with the legislature and the hardy, toil-worn settlers and their wives and daughters, are gathered round them in close order, gazing with moistened eyes at the hand which lifts the open commission to God, and listening to the fervent prayer that the God of Israel will endue his servant, as heretofore, with courage and counsel to lead them in the days of their future peril. True there is nothing classic in this scene; this is no crown bestowed at the Olympic games, or at a Roman triumph; and yet there is a severe, primitive sublimity in the picture, that will sometime be invested with feelings of the deepest reverence."

The Massachusetts man may feel that the space which Bushnell gives to arguing that Putnam and not Prescott was the commander at Bunker Hill is disproportionate; but he does not grudge any word of praise for Putnam any more than he grudges the warm words to Wooster, Wolcott, Ledyard and Brother Jonathan. It is not with Connecticut statesmen and warriors only that this "Historical Estimate" concerns itself; the Connecticut clergy and poets, inventors and educators, have due honor,—and the names of these are many and great. The occasion of the address was the inauguration of the State Normal School at New Britain, and therefore, as was fitting, the educational institutions of Connecticut, from Yale College to the district schools of "a little obscure parish in Litchfield county," whose remarkable contributions to the intellectual life of the nation he enumerated with joy and pride, were given special prominence. Connecticut, he said, "is to find her first and noblest interest, apart from religion, in the full and perfect education of her sons and daughters." No other New England state can point to such a historical estimate as Dr. Bushnell has made of Connecticut in this glowing essay; and the history as it rises to view under his loving pen is seen to be what he pronounces it,—*"a history*

of practical greatness and true honor; illustrious in its beginning; serious and thoughtful in its progress; dispensing intelligence, without the rewards of fame; heroic for the right, instigated by no hope of applause; independent, as not knowing how to be otherwise; adorned with names of wisdom and greatness, fit to be revered as long as true excellence may have a place in the reverence of mankind."

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It was most fitting that Connecticut should call Dr. Bushnell to give the address before her legislature upon the occasion of the opening of her State Normal School. His services for the cause of education altogether were very great. It would be interesting to dwell upon his relations to Yale College, from his student days there to the day of his death. It was before the alumni of Yale College that he delivered, in 1843, his oration upon "The Growth of Law," to which we shall presently refer in speaking of his conspicuous services for the cause of internationalism and the organization of the world. It was before the alumni of Yale College that he delivered, in 1865, at the commemorative celebration in honor of those of the alumni who fell in the war of the rebellion his great oration upon "Our Obligations to the Dead." He led his class at Yale, we read, in athletic sports, as well as on the intellectual side; and he left in the college an enduring monument in the Beethoven Society, which he organized in order to lift the standard of the music in the chapel. Bushnell, some one has written, was "musically organized;" and his discourse on "Religious Music," which was delivered before this Beethoven Society at the opening of a new organ—the first used in the college—is a discourse which should be read and honored in every school of music, as its author's luminous and inspiring essay upon "Building Eras in Religion" should be read by every

student and teacher of architecture. As we turn the pages of his volumes, we note that it was before various Yale bodies that many of his addresses were delivered; and there were addresses there delivered which have not been reprinted. As a frequent preacher in the college chapel, he was a perennial influence at Yale; and as we write the word, an old Yale student, now the head of one of our great educational institutions, enters our room to tell us how for him, as for so many others, those sermons were the beginning of the real life of thought.

It was at New Haven, before the Sheffield Scientific School, at Commencement in 1870, that Bushnell gave his address upon "The New Education," which is one of the warmest and wisest welcomes of the new scientific tendencies in our schools and universities which can be found in the books. Like every word of Bushnell's, this word is strong and satisfying because it is comprehensive and proportionate. Nowhere are the defects of the old academic method more frankly pointed out; nowhere are the usefulness and need of scientific training more enthusiastically emphasized. So far from sharing the jealousies of the new scientific movement in education, which was so common in religious circles thirty years ago, Bushnell took "a most particular pleasure in the advocacy of a way of education specially devoted to the applications of science, because of the conviction I feel that our schools of application will be the best and most certain rectifiers possible of the unbelieving tendencies of science itself." So far from sharing the apprehension which was then common among academic folk, that the new scientific enthusiasm was a menace to literary and humanistic culture, he confidently prophesied precisely the results which have followed. Replying to the general charge that in his criticism of the old and his hospitality to the new he was willing to take down the honors



of the fuller and more fertilizing courses, he exclaimed:

"Far from it. I accept no such construction as that. I can think of it only as absurd. No, a true classic culture can never be antiquated; and if I seem to raise a crusade for the shorter methods of applied science, I do it in the clear understanding that such shorter methods are wanted, and that I am doing nothing against, but everything for the advancement of the old methods. For if we push the new education to its utmost efficiency and far enough to practically fill the whole tier of life for which it is organized, making every walk of industry and enterprise, every farmhouse, factory, mine, trade, road, every shop of handicraft, every humblest toil, even down to the knife-grinder's lathe and fisherman's barrow, to feel its quickening touch of intelligence, the classic culture will only be as much more largely sought, and its courses as much more frequented, as the general under-lift of mind is higher than it was before."

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It was not, however, solely nor indeed chiefly to the university that Bushnell addressed his interest and effort as an educational thinker. We know of no words of his upon the higher education—and we think of many earnest ones—so earnest or so pregnant as those upon the common school. If we were to commend one of his educational addresses above all others to the American people to-day, it would be that upon "Common Schools." He insists upon the fundamental importance of the common school as "a great American institution; one that has its beginnings with our history itself; one that is inseparably joined to the fortunes of the republic; and one that can never wax old or be discontinued in its rights and reasons till the pillars of the State are themselves cloven down forever." He sees clearly the inseparableness of democracy and public education. He would have said, as we said last month in these pages, that *education* is simply another way of spelling *democracy*. The common school, he said, "is an integral part of the civil order." "An application against com-

mon schools is an application for the dismemberment and reorganization of the civil order of the State." The true schools for our American democracy, the schools which alone can make for the perpetuity and integrity of a really democratic society and democratic institutions, he emphasizes most strongly and with impressive detail, must be public and common, "in just the same sense that all the laws are common; so that the experience of families and of children under them shall be an experience of the great republican rule of majorities; an exercise for majorities of obedience to fixed statutes, and of moderation and impartial respect to the rights and feelings of minorities; an exercise for minorities of patience and of loyal assent to the will of majorities; a schooling, in that manner, which begins at the earliest moment possible, in the rules of American law and the duties of an American citizen." In all the discussions of the parochial school question which have followed in the half century, few really important principles have been laid down which are not clearly outlined in this address by Bushnell, in 1853. He points out with careful kindness what the ways and places are for toleration and for generous hospitality; but he shows with a firmness and common sense equally great what the imperatives of a republic are upon all citizens alike, whatever their religion. The danger to the American public school from religious parochialism of any kind is perhaps passing by. The danger from social parochialisms of many kinds is to-day greater; and Bushnell's words upon this point are so serious and important that we quote the passage in its entirety, as something upon which many men and women of wealth and high social position in our American cities should solemnly ponder. We do not remember any word upon this subject so impressive as this, save one, the word of Phillips Brooks in his great address before the Boston Latin School.

"This great institution of common schools is not only a part of the state, but is imperiously wanted as such, for the common training of so many classes and conditions of people. There needs to be some place where, in early childhood, they may be brought together and made acquainted with each other; thus to wear away the sense of distance, otherwise certain to become an established animosity of orders; to form friendships; to be exercised together on a common footing of ingenuous rivalry; the children of the rich to feel the power and do honor to the struggles of merit in the lowly, when it rises above them; the children of the poor to learn the force of merit and feel the benign encouragement yielded by its blameless victories. Indeed, no child can be said to be well trained, especially no male child, who has not met the people as they are, above him or below, in the seatings, plays and studies of the common school. Without this he can never be a fully qualified citizen, or prepared to act his part wisely as a citizen. Confined to a select school, where only the children of wealth and distinction are gathered, he will not know the merit there is in the real virtues of the poor, or the power that slumbers in their talent. He will take his better dress as a token of his better quality, look down upon the children of the lowly with an educated contempt, prepare to take on lofty airs of confidence and presumption afterward; finally, to make the discovery when it is too late that poverty has been the sturdy nurse of talent in some unhonored youth who comes up to affront him by an equal, or mortify and crush him by an overmastering, force. So also the children of the poor and lowly, if they should be privately educated in some inferior degree by the honest and faithful exertion of their parents, secreted, as it were, in some back alley or obscure corner of the town, will either grow up in a fierce, inbred hatred of the wealthier classes, or else in a mind cowed by undue modesty, as being of another and inferior quality, unable therefore to fight the great battle of life hopefully, and counting it a kind of presumption to think that they can force their way upward, even by merit itself. Without common schools, the disadvantage falls both ways in about equal degrees, and the disadvantage that accrues to the state, in the loss of so much character and so many cross ties of mutual respect and generous appreciation, the embittering so fatally of all outward distinctions, and the propagation of so many misunderstandings, righted only by the immense public mischiefs that follow,—this, I say, is greater even than the disadvantages accruing to the classes themselves; a disadvantage that weakens immensely the security of the state and even of its liberties. Indeed, I seri-

ously doubt whether any system of popular government can stand the shock, for any length of time, of that fierce animosity that is certain to be gendered where the children are trained up wholly in their classes, and never brought together to feel, understand, appreciate and respect each other, on the common footing of merit and of native talent, in a common school. Falling back thus on the test of merit and of native force, at an early period of life, moderates immensely their valuation of mere conventionalities and of the accidents of fortune, and puts them in a way of deference that is genuine as well as necessary to their common peace in the state. Common schools are nurseries thus of a free republic; private schools, of factions, cabals, agrarian laws and contests of force. Therefore, I say, we must have common schools; they are American, indispensable to our American institutions, and must not be yielded for any consideration smaller than the price of our liberties."

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In connection with the subject of Dr. Bushnell's interest in education, his year in California constituted one of the most significant chapters of his life. Here he appears preëminently as the great citizen and as a distinct and shaping force in American education. This California episode receives but passing mention in Dr. Munger's book. The earlier biography devotes a chapter to it, occupied almost entirely by Bushnell's letters describing his California life; but the great purport of that life to the new Pacific state and its intellectual interests has no adequate statement. We have said that a special book is needed in America upon "Horace Bushnell, the Citizen." We commend to some bright and reverent historical student in the University of California the preparation of a special monograph upon "Horace Bushnell in California." In such a volume should be reprinted the three California addresses which have not been collected in any of the volumes of Bushnell's works, but exist, almost inaccessible, only in pamphlet form: "Society and Religion: a Sermon for California," delivered at the installation of the pastor of the First Con-



gregational Church of San Francisco, in 1856, a sermon which may be compared, in its service for California, with John Cotton's "God's Promise to His Plantation," in its service for the colony of Massachusetts Bay; the appeal for an endowment for the new University of California, issued by Bushnell in 1857; and the article upon "The Characteristics and Prospects of California," published originally in the *New Englander* and then circulated in pamphlet form in 1858. We know of no other description of California and no forecast of its future in that early day so interesting or so valuable as this. It ranks with Manasseh Cutler's "Description of Ohio" in 1787. Horace Bushnell was indeed California's Manasseh Cutler; and like Manasseh Cutler his chief interests for the new world with whose opening he was concerned were not material, but political, religious and educational. His effort was to make California know at the beginning that "more to her than gold or grain" should be "the cunning hand and cultured brain." "The doing world of California," he said in his appeal for an endowment for the new university, "will be right when there is a right thinking world of California prepared, before the doing, to shape it." "It is not," he said, "in the gold, nor the wheat, nor the cattle on a thousand hills, that California is to find, after all, its richest wealth and its noblest honors; but it is in the sons she trains up and consecrates to religion, as the anointed prophets and preachers of God's truth, her great orators of every name and field, her statesmen, her works of art and genius, the voices of song that pour out their eternal music from her hills. Her pride is not that wanting a Shakespeare or a Bacon or an Edwards, she sent for him; but that having begotten and made him, he is hers."

It is indeed a memorable thing that it should have been this great New England Puritan who was the animat-

ing spirit in so high degree in the founding of the great university which looks forth through the Golden Gate; that he should have selected its unrivalled site and should have been invited to become its first president. "If I can get a university on its feet, or only the nest egg laid, before I return," he wrote from San Francisco to his Hartford friends, just before he went back to them, "I shall not have come to this new world in vain." Of all the interesting things in his letters from California, there are none so interesting as those in which he tells of his explorations for the best site for the university and discusses the considerations for and against his acceptance of the presidency. His sense of obligation to his faithful Hartford flock was the motive which finally determined him, and in New England, where his life began, it ended; but surely no memory should be held in higher honor in California and in its university than that of Bushnell.

When the trustees of the new university asked themselves by what name they should call the place where it was to be seated, their president, Frederick Billings, from Vermont, with that splendid idealism which often marks the business man, said:

Call it Berkeley. A century ago the great English philosopher published his famous verses upon the planting of the arts and sciences in America. He entertained high hopes of the future of learning and culture here. So deeply did he feel the importance of making the spiritualities instead of the materialities control this great new world, that he came here to give his own life to the work. He went home thwarted and disappointed. Let us here, on the shore of the Pacific, help to realize his dream. The course of the empire of knowledge can take its way no farther westward on the continent than this place. Let the place be given gratefully and reverently his name.

And Berkeley is its name. In the splendid plans for the rebuilding and extension of the great university, of which just now we hear so much, some place should certainly be found,

and that a central and impressive place, for a statue of the great bishop; and beside it should rise a statue of Horace Bushnell. They would be joined fittingly, not only because of the relation of their names and influences to this great seat of learning, but because they stand alike for that public spirit, that devotion to truth and to humanity, and that high idealism, which we trust will ever there be native. Could the mouths of both men be opened there, they would unite in one prophecy and one prayer:

"In happy climes, the seat of innocence,  
Where nature guides and virtue rules;  
Where men shall not impose for truth and  
sense

The pedantry of courts and schools;—

"There shall be sung another golden age,  
The rise of empire and of arts,  
The good and great inspiring epic page,  
The wisest heads and noblest hearts."

If the thought and learning of America command such an outlook through the Golden Gate upon the great new life and new duties that confront and invite the republic in the Pacific as would satisfy the eye and conscience of Berkeley and of Bushnell, then indeed will that life be secure and true; then will the nation be safe from every infidelity and every shame.

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In selecting the site and planning the grounds for a new university, Bushnell was exercising one of his most conspicuous and characteristic talents and indulging one of his dearest enthusiasms. As Dr. Munger says, "he was a born engineer, always laying out roads and building parks and finding the best paths for railways among the hills." "It is characteristic of him," says Dr. Munger in another place, speaking of his religious thought, "that all his leading contentions had their genesis early in his career and were almost never absent from his thoughts." What was true of him as a theologian was true of him as an engineer and landscape architect; he was these from his very

boyhood. His daughter writes: "He saw twice as much as most people do out of doors, took a mental survey of all land surfaces, and kept in his head a complete map of the physical geography of every place with which he was acquainted. He knew the leaf and bark of every tree and shrub that grows in New England; estimated the water power of every stream he crossed; knew where all the springs were, and how they could be made available; engineered roads and railroads; laid out, in imagination, parks, cemeteries and private places; noted the laying of every bit of stone wall." Referring to his own boasted piece of stone wall at the old home in Litchfield county, as firm after fifty years as when he laid it, she remarks that it is doubtful whether he was ever as well satisfied with any of his writings as he was with that stone wall. Dr. Bartol writes: "In our many walks in Boston, nothing in streets or buildings, Common or Public Garden, but was caught by his eye and had improvements suggested from his thought;" and Dr. Gladden, writing of his visit to North Adams, says: "He was up early in the summer mornings and out for a walk; once when he came in he said, 'I have found the place for your park,' and exhorted me to go to work at once and get the town to secure the site. It was indeed the very place for a park, and if the thriving city of North Adams could have it now, it would be a boon to her people; but my faith was not strong enough, and North Adams lacks its Bushnell Park." His house at Hartford was built from his own plans. "In selecting the lot he provided for two things, a garden and an open view of the country, ending in distant hills. Each was a necessity to him,—the manifold life of growing things and the distant horizon."

This engineering enthusiasm of his had large scope in California. In the section devoted to his California life, Dr. Munger says: "The variety of his studies and interests, especially in en-



gineering and topography, reminds one of Da Vinci. If Bushnell had a passion outside of theology, it was for roads, and he closely connected the two; the new country afforded him a wide field for each. He was a critic of all he saw with the eye, and a builder in imagination of such as were needed or were possible. He foresaw a railroad across the continent—hardly dreamed of as yet—and, having examined all possible routes of entrance into San Francisco, named the one that was finally chosen." In this connection there is a passage in his remarkable essay upon "City Plans" which should be remembered. After showing how Sacramento and Marysville, which are actually set below high-water mark, could both at the distance of hardly a mile have secured ample high ground, equally convenient, he notices the remarkable combination of disadvantages in San Francisco itself, which might all have been avoided by choosing another site.

"There was just over the bay, a few miles to the north, at a little hamlet called San Pablo, a grand natural city plat about five miles square, graded handsomely down to the bay, supplied on its upper edge with the very best water breaking out of a gorge in the hills, having a straight path out to sea for ships, among islands of rock easily defended, and a fair open sweep for railroad connections, north, east and south; and behind the rock summit on its mid-front a natural dock-ground two miles long, partly covered by the tides even now, and open to the deep water at both ends. In short, there was never in the world such a site for a magnificent commercial city; but, alas, the city is fixed elsewhere by the mere chance landing of adventure, and a change is forever impossible! What an illustration of the immense or even literally unspeakable importance of the results that are sometimes pending on the right location of a city!"

It is a fair thing for San Francisco to consider, even at this late day, in view of the fact that she is likely to become one of the great cities of the world, whether it would not be profitable for her now boldly to act upon

Bushnell's wisdom, and prove that to men of adequate vision and adequate energy no change which is commendable is too great to be impossible.

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It was just before his visit to California that Bushnell threw himself into the work of securing a public park in his own city of Hartford. This park, which bears his name, was, as we have shown, the fruit of a lifelong passion. He early noticed, in the very centre of the city, a great tract that had never been put to use and was really a deformity; and after years of effort he carried out his plan of transforming this into the beautiful Hartford park which we know, crowned by the State Capitol. The action of the city government, recognizing that this public park was due to his foresight and persistence and naming it by his name, was announced to him on his last day of conscious life. Speaking of this park, upon whose border stands Bushnell's own church, Dr. Parker, his fellow Hartford minister, has well written: "The entire scene, one of the fairest in our land,—the park, the church, the capitol,—is Dr. Bushnell's lasting memorial. *Si quaeris monumentum, circumspecte.*" Rev. Joseph Twichell, another Hartford friend and companion, has said that "Bushnell lies back of all that is best in the city. He quickened the men who have made Hartford what it is." And yet another, Rev. N. H. Egleston, writes:

"What interest of Hartford is not to-day indebted to him? Do we speak of schools? The fathers of those who are now enjoying our unsurpassed appliances for education know well that the city is indebted to no one more than to Dr. Bushnell for the new impulse which lifted its schools to their present grade of excellence. Do we speak of taste and culture? Who has been a nobler example and illustration of both, or who has by his just criticism and various instructions so aided in their development? If we turn to the business interests of the city, who of its older residents does not remember how, years ago, at a time when the impression had become prevalent that Hart-

ford had reached its growth, that it was declining, while other cities were outstripping it, Dr. Bushnell lifted himself up in that crisis and asserted not only the ability but the duty of the city to prosper, and how he woke the city to new life, and gave an impulse which has been felt to this day? Hartford feels him to-day everywhere. It may be doubted whether another instance in our own history is to be found of a man impressing himself in so many ways and with such force upon a place of such size and importance as this, Hartford is largely what he has made it."

The reference to Bushnell's word in Hartford's business crisis is to his sermon, "Prosperity our Duty," preached in 1847, a sermon not included, we think, in any of Bushnell's volumes, but which shall be included in the monograph upon "Horace Bushnell and Hartford," which some young Hartford scholar will some day, we trust, place in the library. In that volume will also be reprinted Bushnell's "History of the Hartford Park," published in 1869 in *Hearth and Home*.

Most comprehensive and most valuable of Bushnell's writings as an engineer is the essay, "City Plans," prepared for the Public Improvement Society of Hartford, but for reasons of health never delivered. In our own time there are many men alive to the great question of public beauty, to the idea of a city as a unit and a true work of art, to the principles of a good city plan, the utilizing of historical association, the conditions of health, the requisites to fine effect; but when Bushnell wrote his essay upon "City Plans," there were few such men. In this field, as in so many others, Bushnell was a prophet.

"There is wanted in this field," he wrote, "a new profession, specially prepared by studies that belong to the special subject matter. If a city as a mere property concern is to involve amounts of capital greater than a dozen or even a hundred railroads, why, as a mere question of interest, should it be left to the misbegotten planning of some operator totally disqualified? We want a city-planning profession, as truly as an architectural, house-planning profession. Every new village, town, city,

ought to be contrived as a work of art, and prepared for the new age of ornament to come."

Of interest as an illustration of this engineering eye of his, as well as of his sense of the new life dawning for the world through the wonderful new opportunities of travel and communication, is his striking address upon "The Day of Roads;" and not remote in its interest is that great essay on "Building Eras in Religion," which gives its name to one of his volumes. Few of his essays have greater sweep than this, or illustrate more impressively his æsthetic mind and his constructive imagination. His interpretation of the spirit which reared the Jewish Temple and the spirit of the cathedral age is full of fine insight; but more stimulating is his forward glance to the building era which will come when the intellectual synthesis to which the world is now advancing is complete. The moral and spiritual regeneration of the world which he foresees "is going to require a great building age for its uses;" and he even ventures upon a program in large outline of this architecture of the new dispensation. "I know not anything that will fire us with higher thoughts and tone our energies for a loftier key than to see just what our prophets saw with so great triumph, glorious ages of building for God, such as never were beheld before; a city of God, or it may be many, complete in all grandeur and beauty, and representing fitly the great ideas and glorious populations and high creative powers of a universal Christian age." It is an essay for the American architect as well as for the religious man to study. What might we not hope, could we have an architectural genius fertilized by Bushnell's religious vision in as high degree as Bushnell's religious mind was enriched by his architectural taste and talent!

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The volume entitled "Moral Uses



of Dark Things" contains two essays, that upon "Bad Government" and that upon "The Conditions of Solidarity," which must not be neglected by the student of Bushnell as a citizen, the latter being a noteworthy consideration of the organic nature of human society, upon which the whole tendency of thought since Bushnell's time has led us to lay even greater emphasis. In the volume of "Sermons on Living Subjects" is a noble sermon on "How to be a Christian in Trade," which touches many vital considerations in our present business and social life. But for the most part the writings which represent Bushnell the citizen are collected in the two volumes, "Building Eras in Religion" and "Work and Play." These volumes should lie upon the table in every American home. They should have place especially in the library of every young American student who is about to go out as an influence in our political and intellectual life, charged with the duty of keeping the republic true to the great ideals of its founders and to the moral imperative listened to so reverently and proclaimed with such power by the author of these pulsating pages. Few men in America have insisted more strenuously upon lifting political questions out of the region of temporary expediency into that of morals. The conflict with slavery gave him occasion enough to emphasize this principle. His article in the *Christian Freeman* in 1844, an answer to Dr. Taylor, not republished in his volumes, is a noble expression of it. "He taught the people that the only way to secure the greatest good was along the path of absolute righteousness and not in vain attempts to measure consequences. Dr. Taylor maintained that consequences created duty, a principle that determined political action in the country for twenty years. Bushnell contended that righteousness secures the only consequence worth having. It was this principle that carried the nation

through the war and brought slavery to an end."

The Congregational Library in Boston is very rich in Bushnell material. It has in its collection many sermons and addresses which do not appear in Bushnell's collected works. Among them we have found a sermon preached in 1844, upon "Politics under the Law of God." It will be noted that this is the same year as that of the article in the *Christian Freeman* to which Mr. Munger refers. In the preface to this public discourse Bushnell says that it is offered to the public "because it has been so unfortunate as to be denounced for qualities positively mischievous and dishonorable to a minister." "My ideal in the discourse," he says, "was to make a bold push for principle as the test of public men and measures, and let the lines when drawn cut where they would. I think I saw clearly that, if we are ever to have any principle in politics, it must be enforced when there is a question on hand and results of consequence are to be effected." The discourse itself is the expression of a spirit which America in this time has sadly needed to find in all her pulpits, but has found in too few. Before coming directly to the slavery question he surveys the various evils in the nation at the time, which it was the duty of men who stood for morality in politics to denounce.

"In the great Missouri question, on which the personal freedom, character and happiness of so many families of human beings, the honor and security of our liberties and the moral well-being of a great section of our territory were pending, what were the considerations that weighed in the deliberation and determined the final vote? Was it the immutable principles of justice and humanity, those principles which God asserts and will forever vindicate? No, it was the balance of power between the slave-holding and non-slave-holding states." "In the Indian question, what did we do but lend the power of the civil arm to crush a defenceless people and their rights? We violated our most solemn treaties and pledges. If there was a just God in heaven, he could not be with us. It was policy—a compo-

sition with fraud and wickedness. An honored chieftain at the head of the nation recommended the measure, the nation decreed it, and the military enacted it with their bayonets!" "The Florida war was a transaction rooted in unmitigated iniquity and oppression." At the close of his survey, which covers other points, he declares: "We are guilty as a nation of the most daring wrongs, and if there be a just God we have reason to tremble for his judgments. We are ceasing as a nation to have any conscience about public matters. Good men and Christians are suffering an allegiance to party rule, which demolishes their personality, learning quietly to approve and passively to follow in whatever path their party leads." He considers some of the causes which operated to produce this result; and declares among other things that the neglect of the pulpit to assert the dominion of moral principles over what we do as citizens has hastened and aggravated the evil—and adds: "It is the solemn duty of the ministers of religion to make their people feel the presence of God's law everywhere, and especially where the dearest interests of life, the interests of virtue and religion, are themselves at stake. This is the manner of the Bible. There is no one subject on which it is more full than it is in reference to the moral duties of rulers and citizens." Following his survey of causes, he speaks of consequences; and after noticing two or three of these observes: "Take away conscience, let party strife and discipline clear off the constraint of principle, and your constitutions have no value and no avenger; your civil order is shivered to fragments. Nor is it possible that public life or any warm sentiment of patriotism should survive the destruction of moral and religious influences in the state. Who will love his country when his country ceases from equity and protection? The divorce of politics from conscience and religion must infallibly end in the total wreck of our institutions and liberties." He then asks what shall be done, and answers: "First of all, we must open our eyes to what we have done. We must see our sin as a people and repent of it." And again, "Require it of your rulers to cease from the prostitution of their office to effect the reign of their party. Require them to say what is true, and do what is right; and the moment they falter, forsake them." The sermon, which is one of the most impassioned which Bushnell ever preached, ends with a scathing denunciation of slavery, which was then the great source of our political corruption and infidelity: "Slavery is the great curse of this nation. I blush to think how tamely we have suffered its encroachments. The time has come to renounce our pusilla-

nimity. We have made a farce of American liberty long enough. God's frown is upon us, and the scorn of the world is settling on our name in the earth. God I know is gracious, and how much he will bear I cannot tell. He is also just, and how long his justice can suffer is past human foresight. Our politics are now our greatest immorality, and what is most of all fearful, the immorality sweeps through the Church of God."

Bushnell's first public sermon, "The Crisis of the Church," was occasioned by the mobbing of Garrison in the streets of Boston in 1835. This was a time when in many pulpits the subject of slavery was a tabooed subject, and churches were divided upon it. But Bushnell, as Dr. Munger says, "held to the Puritan conception of the state as moral, and did not hesitate to use his pulpit to enforce this conception and to denounce any departure from it. The antislavery movement was so distinctly Christian that he would not keep it out of his pulpit, even if his sermons were regarded and used as campaign documents." Of the fugitive slave law he prayed that God would grant him grace never to "do the damning sin" of obedience to it. "The first duty that I owe to civil government," he said, "is to violate and spurn such a law." Of the spoils system he spoke in a notable sermon on "American Politics," in 1840, as the civil service reformer speaks to-day. "In all matters pertaining to our national welfare," wrote his daughter, "his patriotism was ever on the alert." His constant refuge was in the Puritan spirit and in the companionship of the founders of New England and of the republic. Few addresses have been given upon the Pilgrim Fathers worthier or weightier than his "The Founders Great in their Unconsciousness," before the New England Society of New York on Forefathers Day, 1849, just fifty years ago. "The way of greatness is the way of duty,"—to learn this principle from them and take it to our hearts, this, he said, is the most fitting monument we can



erect to the fathers. His profound address on "Popular Government by Divine Right," delivered as a sermon on the day of the national thanksgiving in 1864, in the very midst of the civil war, is a luminous study of the development of our nationality and, still more important, a searching criticism of the dictum that the "consent of the governed" is the real and sufficient basis of just government. Ultimate and true sovereignty resides not in any majority of men, but in the law of God, which nations, through whatever painful processes, must discover and conform to. Political inquiry becomes a search for right, for moral relations; and in closing his essay, Bushnell says these remarkable words,—speaking of government, of course, in its limiting and controlling, and not in its constructive and coöperative aspects: "There will be less and less need of government, because the moral right of what we have is felt; and as what we do as right is always free, we shall grow more free as the centuries pass, till perhaps even government itself may lapse in the freedom of a righteousness consummated in God."

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The next year Bushnell was the orator at the commemoration by Yale College of her alumni who had fallen in the war, giving his great oration, "Our Obligations to the Dead." We have spoken of "The Age of Home-spun" as the prose counterpart of Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night." The oration on "Our Obligations to the Dead" is the prose counterpart of Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," which was read at Harvard just five days before, in that midsummer of 1865. It would be useful to compare the oration and the poem and see how many of the same great thoughts were developed independently, in the different ways. This word of the orator is of interest in remembrance of the poet's word on Lincoln: "In the place of politicians we are going to

have at least some statesmen; for we have gotten the pitch of a grand new Abrahamic statesmanship, unsophisticated, honest and real,—no cringing sycophancy or cunning art of demagoguery." Of interest in this connection, too, is Bushnell's application in another essay, that on "The True Wealth of Nations," of the term "the first American" to one daring to renounce a state of cliency upon Europe and stand upon his own national feet. This word of Bushnell's antedates Lowell's ode by thirty years. An echo, or an anticipation—we do not remember which—of a striking word in Lowell's Lessing essay is this word of Bushnell's in his Commemoration address: "Great action is the highest kind of writing, and he that makes a noble character writes the finest kind of book." It would be inspiring to quote many of the eloquent passages from this great address; we shall instead quote one practical suggestion, the deliverance of a far-seeing statesmanship, which, could it have been acted on, would have saved the nation how much trouble and have been the source of how great order and strength to-day:

"Do simply this, which we have a perfect constitutional right to do,—pass this very simple amendment, that the basis of representation in Congress shall hereafter be the number, in all the states alike, of the free male voters therein. Then the work is done; a general free suffrage follows by consent, and as soon as it probably ought. For these returning states will not be long content with half the offices they want and half the power allowed them in the republic. Negro suffrage is thus carried without even naming the word."

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Bushnell's address upon "The True Wealth or Weal of Nations" was given in 1837, eight years before Charles Sumner's great oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations." The latter address was a war upon militarism; the former was chiefly a war upon mammonism. It was an effort to arouse America to an understanding of how much more man is



than money. Bushnell already saw the broad and hostile distinctions beginning to display themselves in New England, "sad omens, which leave us no time to squander in merely economical policies." He arraigned the great wastes of our life. "It can be shown from unquestionable data that fashionable extravagance in our people such as really transcends their means to a degree that is not respectable, theatrical amusements known to be only corrupt and vulgar in character, together with intemperate drinking and all the idleness, crime and pauperism consequent, have annihilated since we began our history not less than three or four times the total wealth of the nation." Elsewhere he dwells upon the immense social improvement which will come, especially in the condition of the laboring classes, when the enormous expenditures of war and vice are discontinued, and our substance and forces are properly utilized. He arraigned the disproportion in men's expenditures. "I found that a man who would give a cheap sort of lawyer from ten to twenty dollars for a few hours' service is giving the professor of education from one to two dollars for a whole winter's work on the mind of his son." He closed with a great plea for a true education, for devotion to "the noble purpose of making our whole people, since they are called to rule, fit to rule."

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But the words which we would leave in the minds of our readers, as we take leave here of this great citizen, are those of his prophetic oration upon "The Growth of Law." It is, in the first place, a survey of history, to trace the development of law, to show what Greece did for the world and what Rome did; but the most significant pages of the essay are those in which he looks forward to the triumph of the true interna-

tional spirit, and sees the end of wars in a rational and organized world. His tribute to Hugo Grotius, the first great international man, is one of the most eloquent passages in all his works. Summing up the achievements already of international law, he adds:

"A day will come when the dominion of ignorance and physical force, when distinctions of blood and the accidents of fortune will cease to rule the world. Beauty, reason, science, personal worth and religion will come into their rightful supremacy, and moral forces will preside over physical as mind over the body. Liberty and equality will be so far established that every man will have a right to his existence and, if he can make it so, to an honorable, powerful and happy existence. Policy will cease to be the same as cunning, and become a study of equity and reason. It is impossible that wars should not be discontinued, if not by the progress of the international code, as we have hinted, yet by the progress of liberty and intelligence; for the masses who have hitherto composed the soldiery must sometime discover the folly of dying, as an ignoble herd, to serve the passions of a few reckless politicians, or to give a name for prowess to leaders whose bravery consists in marching *them* into danger. The arbitrament of arms is not a whit less absurd than the old English trial by battle, and before the world has done rolling they will both be classed together."

"Who shall think it incredible that this same progress of moral legislation, which has gone thus far in the international code, may ultimately be so far extended as to systematize and establish rules of arbitrament, by which all national disputes shall be definitely settled, without an appeal to arms! And so it shall result that, as the moral code is one, all law shall come into unity, and a kind of virtual oneness embrace all nations. We shall flow together in the annihilation of distances and become brothers in the terms of justice."

True citizen of the little Litchfield county town, true citizen of Connecticut, true citizen of America, true citizen of the world, true citizen, in each and all of these earthly circles, of the divine commonwealth, the kingdom of God,—such was Horace Bushnell.



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